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THE AMERICAN 'MODEL'
IN THE MORAL EDUCATION OF FASCIST ITALY

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In an ethnohistorical analysis of Jacksonian America Carroll Smith-Rosenberg has indicated how, in the nineteenth century, the idea of sexual purity came to be conceived as a symbol of the unchanging values of traditional society (1). When American economy first entered a new stage of advanced commercial capitalism and then experienced the beginnings of industrialization the middle class family began to lose some of its social and economic functions. Paternal authority was undermined as economic development and urbanization offered new opportunities to sons who demanded more independence. At the same time however, the gradual disappearance of the apprenticeship system forced young people to spend early adolescence within their families of origin. A dramatic alteration of generational relations was the result of this contrast. Sexual licence, ideally connected with the independent behaviour of young men, became a metaphor of the social disorder brought about by economic development. Hence, the moral reform movement in Victorian America sought not only to re-establish moral order, but, what's more, aimed at a restoration of social order.

Whereas American society possessed a comparatively high degree of consensus on economic matters, political conflict developed around questions of personality, style, culture and morality. The little importance of class conflict, on the one hand, and the great importance of moral questions, on the other, have been indicated as characteristic elements in American political life,

when compared with the situation in Europe (2). More recent research, however, has indicated the particular meaning of non-economic issues in European politics. George Mosse, for example, has tried to define the relationship between the rise of modern nationalism and the growing concern with sexual control and restraint (3). In the light of these theories the image of sexual licence which became part of the American stereotype in Europe in the period between the two World Wars acquires a special meaning which we will endeavour to set out in this paper.

Notes on the different moral codes and sexual habits have accompanied European discovery of the New World from the start. Already during the age of exploration Europeans showed a great interest in the sexual habits of American Indians. Moreover, the analogy that had been established in Renaissance poetry between the voyage of discovery and making love had suggested an identification of territorial and sexual conquest (4). Thus America was depicted in the art and literature of the period as a young maiden waiting to be conquered by the European explorer. In the following centuries Europeans continued to pay attention to the moral order in America and commented on the American courtship pattern and on the relatively large freedom of women.

In fascist Italy questions of sexual morality were invested with great importance. This can be explained in part by the

tendency of the fascist regime to accentuate all those social cleavages which were not directly linked with class differences. The desire to suppress class struggle gave rise to an attempt to organize society along the lines of 'new' social distinctions such as age, sex, and, in a later phase, race (5). In order to guarantee the harmonious functioning of this future society specific tasks were attributed to each category. It will not create any surprise that the role of women in this context was limited to the family and the household, even though the economic situation excluded in reality any serious action against women's labour in agriculture and industry (6).

Another argument that made the problem of demography a leitmotiv in the development of fascist ideology was Mussolini's firm conviction that a growth of population was necessary in order to reinforce Italy's position in international politics. Procreation thus was considered a duty of every Italian citizen in the same way as military service was. During World War II it was even proposed to make matrimony a legal obligation (7). Even though this proposal was certainly an expression of an extremistic point of view, it was based on the almost generally accepted idea of a narrow link between moral and political order. A catholic moralizer for example, like Rodolfo Bettazzi, president of the Italian Committee for Public Morality, did not hesitate to declare in a book on marital education published in 1937, that procreation was not only a religious but also a civil duty (8).

Thus the concern with the gradual decrease of the growth of population and with the loosening of traditional moral constraints came to be part of a complex of ideas which made of fascism a bulwark against the rising tide of modernity and against the new anxieties this brought along (9).

The values which the fascist regime wanted to impose on the 'new' Italian were in radical contrast with those ascribed to American civilization. Italian criticism of the New World was based mainly on the stereotype of a 'materialistic' and 'mechanical' civilisation. According to this view, the American denial of spiritual values had led to taylorism -a system of production which debased human labour- and, even worse, had led to the triumph of eugenics, as a result of which the most intimate aspects of human life had been subjected to the decisive power of medical science (10). Birth control was seen as a characteristic feature of the materialistic and egoistical Anglo-Saxon mentality, against the diffusion of which only the sound Latin mentality of fascism could offer resistance (11).

The condemnation of the lack of sexual restraints in American society certainly was an important element in the Italian criticism of the United States. At the same time it indicates the existence of a deep-lying tension in Italian society. The study of the role of the American model in the moral education of fascist Italy thus offers interesting information on the character of Italian anti-americanism.

This paper is composed of three parts: in the first part I will deal with the image of America in fascist Italy; secondly, I will indicate some aspects of the growing American influence on the Italian culture and way of living in the period between the two World Wars; finally I will try to define the relationship between Italian anti-americanism and the profound changes which took place in Italian society in this period.

1. Star-spangled Babylon

World War I certainly constitutes a watershed in the history of the relations between America and Europe: for the first time the United States of America gained a dominant position in European economic life. As a result it was able to exercise a great influence on the political and social developments. In this same period the new discoveries of film and radio became available to a mass public. Particularly the American film industry, through the high technical level and popular content of its products, had a great success among the public and spread new images of the American society and way of living. Jazz music as well began to reach the larger public.

The sudden entry of the U.S. on the European scene had an enormous impact on the imagination of the Old World and many

writers, artists and politicians set off for America hoping that a view from nearby would explain the rise of this new empire. Whereas in many other countries the study of America used the tools of sociology, in Italy, for a long time, studies were limited to the more superficial aspects of American culture. Moreover, the stories of Italian emigrants had a great influence on popular imagination, which saw America as a land of Cockaigne (12).

With regard to the Italian image of America Giorgio Spini has suggested that an analysis of the books and articles published in this period would indicate an overall condemnation of American society and culture (13). This is certainly true for part of the literature, but we will see that the Italian image of the U.S. was more differentiated than one might suppose. However, before entering an analysis of some of the books dedicated to America, it might be useful to indicate briefly the profound changes that took place in America in the period after World War I.

A quick look into a dictionary of American slang provides us with a list of terms, introduced or diffused during the 1920's, which denote a change in the American sexual customs (14). World War I and postwar conditions had brought along great changes in occupational trends and women played an increasing role in economic life. The new independence of women and the particular sense of life created by the war led to a relaxation of morals.

The new mentality did not pass with the coming of peace (15). Medical doctors were allowed to prescribe contraception if reasons of health made this necessary. The enormous increase in the use of the automobile created the conditions for a new sort of sexual freedom, allowing young people to hide from indiscrete eyes (16). This 'revolution in sexual morals' (17) struck especially the urban middle classes of eastern America whose sentiments were interpreted by F. Scott Fitzgerald:

Scarcely had the staid citizens of the republic caught their breaths when the wildest of all generations, the generation which had been adolescent during the confusion of the War, brusquely shouldered my contemporaries out of the way and danced into the limelight. This was the generation whose girls dramatized themselves as flappers, the generation that corrupted its elders and eventually overreached itself less through lack of morals than through lack of taste. May one offer in exhibit the year 1922! That was the peak of the younger generation, for though the Jazz Age continued, it became less and less an affair of youth.

This period characterized by audacious experiments with the new freedom and by a frenetic search for pleasure came to an end with the Wall Street crisis of 1929:

It ended two years ago, because the utter confidence which was its essential prop received an enormous jolt, and it didn't take long for the flimsy structure to settle earthward. And after two years the Jazz Age seems as far away as the days before the War. It was borrowed time anyhow - the whole upper tenth of a nation living with the insouciance of grand dukes and the casualness of chorus girls. But moralizing is easy now and it was pleasant to be in one's twenties in such a certain and unworried time (18).

Films in the 1920's did not express the changes that had occurred in the social pattern and only in the early thirties began to question conventional morality. Thus, the sexual revolution continued for some time on the screen (19).

In the beginning of the XXth century the Italian image of America was still based on the concept of a Victorian society which exalted the virtue of sexual continence and self-control. Ugo Ojetti, the Italian journalist who visited the U.S. during the Spanish-American war, noted the freedom of women and their role in the production process but assured that women in America had not lost their purity, nor their female charm (20). Gaetano Masi, who launched, in 1915, an attack against the 'scourge of neomalthusianism', put forward the example of the states of New York and Massachusetts where contraception had been prohibited (21). In 1914, Miss Agnes Slack, representative of the American Temperance Movement, addressed the IV National Congress for Public Morality which took place in Naples. Her speech, in which she underlined the sense of mission of the Temperance Movement and indicated its activities in all European countries, was warmly applauded by the audience. Miss Slack was invited by the president of the meeting to give the compliments of Naples and of the Italian people to her great country (22).

The radical change which occurred in this image after World War I was in part the result of an 'optical illusion': Italian

visitors often spent most of their time in New York and were there confronted with extreme examples of the new way of living. Moreover, they had come to America to study a new phenomenon and were not really interested in analogies with Europe (23). Some of the Italian visitors were nevertheless well aware that 'New York is not America' (24), and underlined the contrasts in American society:

Lo stile della modernità più audace e più libera lascia impregiudicato il costume arcaico e retrospettivo di gruppi vincolati a pratiche e tradizioni settarie di cui non si ha più in Europa nemmeno il più lontano ricordo. L'America è piena, come dicono gli americani stessi, di 'antenati contemporanei'. La ragazza che guazza sulla spiaggia vestita spesso dei soli riflessi del parasole è contemporanea del mennonita che ancora rifiuta di mettere le bretelle ritenute invenzione diabolica (25).

According to Beniamino De Ritis the causes of the moral crisis of the postwar period could be traced back to a contradiction within American puritanism. The constant struggle of the pioneers against the perils of nature had deprived their faith of its mystical aspects, and had transformed religion into a cult of material progress. Materialism had caused a metamorphosis of the missionary zeal of former days into commercial publicity. Physical care had taken the place of the cure of souls. A prominent catholic author, Igino Giordani, pushed this idea even further and declared that the dissolution of the Protestant Church was the main cause of the crisis of the protestant family. He opposed the

virtues of catholic Italy to the moral disorder of protestant America (27).

Italian visitors gathered their first impression of the sexual freedom in the United States from the printed press and the entertainment industry. Arnaldo Cipolla noted that the success of American newspaper depended to a large extent on the publication of semi-pornographical articles on divorce cases (28). A description of a visit to a variety-show constituted one of the most popular arguments of almost all travel accounts. The rules of 'male chauvinism' led to a positive appreciation of the beauty of the chorus girls, but at the same time it was noted that all girls resembled each other. Emilio Cecchi's sad conclusion was that mass-production had reached the human being: standardized women were a product of a mechanical civilization (29).

Flirting was seen as an essential aspect of the American courtship pattern and indicated the level of freedom and independence of the young girl in America. Italian visitors felt forced to admit that these girls, even though they were allowed to meet their boy-friends without chaperon, knew quite well where to set limits, but, nevertheless, condemned the hedonistic sense of life which made women unfit for motherhood (30). Moreover, the permissiveness of American parents led to the indecency of 'pajamas parties' and 'petting parties' -described, not without some sense of humour, by Arnaldo Fraccaroli (31).

The excess of freedom created a sense of unrest and a neurotic need for change which undermined the foundations of traditional marriage (32). Besides, the easy way in which divorce could be obtained, convinced women that marriage could be conceived as an investment bearing the interest of alimony (33). Independent and self-reliant, the American woman had not found happiness and often felt lonely: a clear proof of the absurdity of the egoistical ideal of a life without real responsibilities (34).

Italian authors who were proud of the preferential relationship which existed between the fascist regime and youth, declared that young people in America were passing through a deep crisis: left without political direction by the state, youth, in the absence of spiritual ideals, was given to materialism and individual action (35). This criticism of the American way of life was taken up by the Italian war-propaganda which indicated during World War II, in the moral decadence of youth a demonstration of the overall failure of American society (36).

Italian observers had in general a negative opinion of the culture and society of the New World, but more positive voices were not totally absent. In 1934 Amerigo Ruggiero, for example, made a serious attempt to explain Roosevelt's New Deal (37). Luigi Barzini jr. exalted the poetry of skyscrapers and even took the defense of the independent American girl:

La ragazza americana è stata accusata di immoralità. La sua morale invece è ferrea, perché è fatta di logica e di necessità

-non di principii. Tra lei e l'amore non ci sono che barriere che vi ha posto lei stessa (...)

E' un essere umano, completo, capace di volere, di lottare, di vincere, capace di sostenere il peso dell'amicizia con un uomo. Ed è quasi l'impossibile (38).

In L'America, ricerca della felicità, Margherita Sarfatti demonstrates to appreciate the conquests of the American women's movement, among which she does not hesitate to mention divorce. Whereas she saw compromise as a characteristic of matrimony in Italy, America's main virtue was sincerity (39).

2. The New World in Italy

Anti-Americanism in fascist Italy was based more on fear of America's influence on the Italian way of living than on aversion to developments which were restricted to the United States. The 'invasion' of American goods, and, with these, of American customs was seen as a threat to the economic, social and moral order, and, for this reason, provoked virulent protests. The import of chewinggum, typewriters, automobiles, camera's, gramophones, radio's, films and sigaretttes not only had a negative effect on the balance of payments, but, what's worse, altered age-old customs. Through sport, the Y.M.C.A., illustrated magazines,

music and film the New World was on its way to americanize Italy (40).

Of all American inventions film was certainly the most pernicious because it was able to spread the images and temptations of moral decadence among all layers of the population. Already in 1920, M.P. Francesco Degni denounced film as "una tentazione di immoralità, persistente, tenace, continua, assilante" in his address to the V National Congress for Public Morality (41). Giovanni Agnese, who published in 1929 a program for moral reform, proposed to prohibit the representation of kisses and embraces on the screen. Particularly in American films these had been transformed into 'obscene acts' (42). A decade later, Pietro Babina declared that press, cinema and publicity had all been invaded by the obsession of sex, which made the preservation of youthful innocence almost impossible (43).

The Catholic Church was among the most fervent supporters of a moralizing action in film-industry. In two encyclical letters - Divini illius Magistri (1929) and Vigilanti cura (1936)- Pope Pius XI condemned the immorality of the great majority of films and expressed his appreciation for the activities of the 'League of Decency' which had installed catholic censorship on films. Italian state censorship intervened frequently against films which were considered an offense against public morality or against national prestige. After the opening of Cinecittà in 1937, which gave a new impulse to the production of Italian films, the import of American

films was made more difficult through the creation of an import monopoly. The 'big four' of Hollywood (Metro Goldwyn Mayer, 20th Century Fox, Paramount and Warner Bros) refused to pay the high duties on import and withdrew from the Italian market (44).

Emigration was seen as another cause of moral decay. Not only did the emigrants lose their traditional values in the New World, but, worse, on their return they spread new ideas in their places of origin. Igino Giordani accused the protestant churches in America of deviating the emigrants from their father's faith with the deliberate aim to employ them for the conquest of Italy. The first results of this attempt were already evident because a growing number of Italians was interested in birth control notwithstanding its condemnation in the papal encyclical letter Casti connubii (45).

In 1935 Mario Soldati indicated the roots of European anti-americanism:

L'America non è soltanto una parte del mondo. L'America è uno stato d'animo, una passione. E qualunque europeo può, da un momento all'altro ammalarsi d'America, ribellarsi all'Europa e diventare americano (46).

Providing Europeans with an alternative, the American example undermined the foundations of tradition, and, for this reason, many observers attributed changes in social customs and sexual values to 'foreign' influences.

At least among the urban middle classes the traditional courtship pattern with its official betrothal and strict control was gradually losing influence and 'flirting' became more common (47). The so-called modern girl was accused of following the American example of birth control and sexual freedom, and thus indicated a middle class mentality (48). The most convinced upholders of tradition denied that moral decadence was caused by domestic causes such as the industrial development and denounced foreign influences. Only in this way were they able to explain why the Italian woman 'sposa e madre esemplare' had strayed from tradition and embraced a egoistical, frivolous mentality, and was looking for a free and masculine way of living (49).

America's influence could also be noticed in fashion. Young men dressed 'alla Fox', and young women wanted to be slim and had their hair bobbed, trying to look like the stars of Hollywood (50).

The role of America, notwithstanding all this, was not always seen as negative by moral reformers, and paradoxically America also offered a model of moral regeneration.

In all European countries, in the first decades of this century, there was an increasing demand for information on physical problems and sexual life. As a result of the popularization of the theories of Freud, which in this period became more widely known -even though the knowledge remained very

superficial- people no longer believed that ignorance of sexual matters was a guarantee of purity. On the contrary, educational treatises paid much attention to the gloomy consequences of ignorance (51), and moral reformers came to realize the importance of an education which underlined the values of chastity and sexual control, without hiding the facts of life. In Italy popular literature on this subject was totally lacking if we exclude the obsolete 'Physiologies' of Paolo Mantegazza, which were still in print (52). Hence, the prominent physician Pio Foà, who already in 1908 had started to give lectures on sex education (53), looked for foreign examples when he wanted to reach a larger public. His decision to publish the series of books edited by the Rev. Sylvanus Stall certainly indicates some of the ambiguities of the American image in Italy, and shows how the American model, notwithstanding deep-rooted prejudices, was also conceived as a positive example for moral education in fascist Italy.

Stall's eight volumes on sexual education were an international bestseller and went through several reprints in Italy during the fascist period (54). Some of the reasons of this success were explained by Angelo Viziano in his introduction to a new Italian edition in 1939:

Silvano Stall ha fatto proprie le preoccupazioni del pedagogo e del medico sociale e, con una forma chiara, piana, semplice, accessibile a chiunque, valendosi opportunatamente del prezioso aiuto di due intelligenti collaboratrici (...) ha dettato una raccolta di libri sull'educazione sessuale, ognuno dei quali è

rivolto ad una particolare età ed è scritto con penna amorevole, con tatto delicatissimo.

Si tratta di un'opera veramente encomiabile, di alto contenuto morale, che ha ottenuto già pieno successo attraverso le varie traduzioni e la diffusione raggiunta dal suo nascere in tutto il mondo civile (55).

The Italian edition of Winifred Richmond's Introduction to sex education met with more difficulties. The translator, V.Porta, left out those pages which, according to his opinion, were of no interest to the Italian reader and added fierce attacks against such American customs as birth control and divorce (56). Nevertheless the publication was a great success and went through 12 reprints between 1936 and 1943, probably because it offered more factual information and was less moralizing than other books on the subject of sexual life.

3. Anti-americanism: the fear of the future

The study of anti-americanism, as defined in this paper, is unlikely to provide much reliable information on the history of the U.S., but offers a possibility to gain new insights into the defense mechanisms of Italian national consciousness. Actually, by imputing unwanted changes in the social and moral order to American influence, the anti-americans relieved the Italian nation from the fear that these changes were inherent in the development

of society, and created an utopian ideal of progress without change. The specific criticism which was directed against America shows that this form of anti-americanism was linked with the transformation of rural society and constituted a reaction to the consequences of industrial development.

In the first part of the XXth century Italian economy was still largely agrarian and social life was governed by traditional codes of behaviour. According to Marzio Barbagli, matrimony and courtship remained during the 1920's and 1930's matters of public interest, not only as far as celebrations were concerned but also in relation to the choice of a partner. Only in 1919-1920 the obligation to ask the landowner's permission for the marriage of a son or a daughter had been cancelled from the *métayer's* contract and even after this date landowners exercised some form of control. Engaged couples remained under strict supervision (57).

Even though actual behaviour was in contrast with official morality -in 1933, 25.7 % of all first-born sons in Italy had been conceived before matrimony (58)- the validity of the moral order was generally beyond dispute. Nevertheless, the first signs of change became gradually visible: the first Italian Neomalthusian League was created in Turin in 1913 and other cities followed this example (59).

Moral reformers came to identify the idea of sexual disorder with that of the city and idealized the purity of rural life:

Fra tutti i generi di vita quella dell'agricoltura è la meno esposta all'influsso sociale deleterio, per un certo isolamento sano, e per le poche esigenze. Gli agi, le comodità, i contatti non agiscono sulla vita agreste, lontana dai rumori cittadini. I contadini consumano la loro attività nei campi riscaldati dai raggi del sole risanatore dei corpi, e unificatore della natura, non sentono il riflesso della raffinat, e viziata vita urbana specialmente popolare, non sentono i bisogni di tante comodità ed agevolezze (59).

Notwithstanding these bucolic images of the countryside, moral reformers were well aware of the 'contaminating' influences of urban life and noted with distress how traditional values were disappearing among rural population. The improvement of infrastructure, the diffusion of the radio and the irresistible process of urbanization threatened to cancel all differences between countryside and city. Mechanical production and standardized goods -it was feared- would thus be able to eliminate all individual initiative and, eventually, even affect the highest form of human creation: man (60).

Contemporary observers, both fascists and anti-fascists, were well aware of the complex causes of the rise of a new moral order, among which they mentioned changes in the economic role of the family (61). More conservative groups of the population refused, however, to believe that what they considered as 'moral decay' could be the result of an endogenous development. While accentuating the moral consequences of all social changes, they denounced the negative influence of the American example.

The image of America was based on precisely those elements which, according to conservative opinion, threatened to ruin the Italian nation: industrialization, urbanization and the growth of mass-society. Even though this image corresponded only in part to reality, America came to be conceived as Europe's predecessor in the process of moral decay. America's predominance in Europe was based on the unsteady foundations of industrial development and ignored spiritual values. Hence, Europe's renaissance depended on its capacity to resist American influence, and on the rediscovery of its spiritual force. Fascist Italy had set the example; it was up to the other European countries to follow (62).

Criticising moral disorder, Italian anti-americans attempted to launch a general attack against the failings of American civilization. The totalitarian character of this criticism, which linked the lack of, sexual restraint to taylorism and to the effects of urbanization, indicates the global rejection of the American model.

Fascist anti-americanism had its counterpart in the pro-americanism of young Italian intellectuals who were gradually losing their links with fascism. In their eyes America represented a land of freedom precisely because it had no traditions to defend. The study of American civilization was used as an escape from the suffocating atmosphere of the middle class provincialism of fascist Italy. Youth thus began to regard America as a symbol of a better future:

Nelle nostre parole dedicate all'America molto sarà ingenuo e inesatto, molto si riferirà ad argomenti forse estranei al fenomeno storico USA e alle sue forme attuali. Ma poco importa: perché, anche se il Continente non esistesse, le nostre parole non perderebbero il loro significato. Questa America non ha bisogno di Colombo, essa è scoperta dentro di noi, è la terra a cui si tende con la stessa speranza e la stessa fiducia dei primi emigranti e di chiunque sia deciso a difendere a prezzo di fatiche e di errori la dignità della condizione umana (63).

Footnotes

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- 3 George L. Mosse, Nationalism and respectability. Normal and abnormal sexuality in the nineteenth century, 'Journal of contemporary history', v. 17 (1982), pp. 221-222. Cfr. idem, Sessualità e nazionalismo. Mentalità borghese e rispettabilità, Roma-Bari, 1984.
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- 7 Roberto Roberti, La politica demografica sotto l'aspetto etico-sociale, in I problemi della maternità e dell'infanzia, IX, I doveri del medico nella politica demografica del regime fascista, Roma, 1941, p. 377.
- 8 Rodolfo Bettazzi, Il casto talamo. Al giovane sposo cristiano, Torino, 1937, p. 35.
- 9 A physician, Michele Landolfi, mentioned in a conference held in the archiepiscopal palace of Naples in 1936, among the new causes of stress "i trovati della scienza e della civiltà moderna: grattacieli, urbanesimo, telegrafo, telefono, automobile, velivolo, cinematografi, grammofoni, radio" and, above all, "le frodi del matrimonio": contraception and birth control. It is worth noting that all these discoveries were linked with the image of the USA. Michele Landolfi, Il

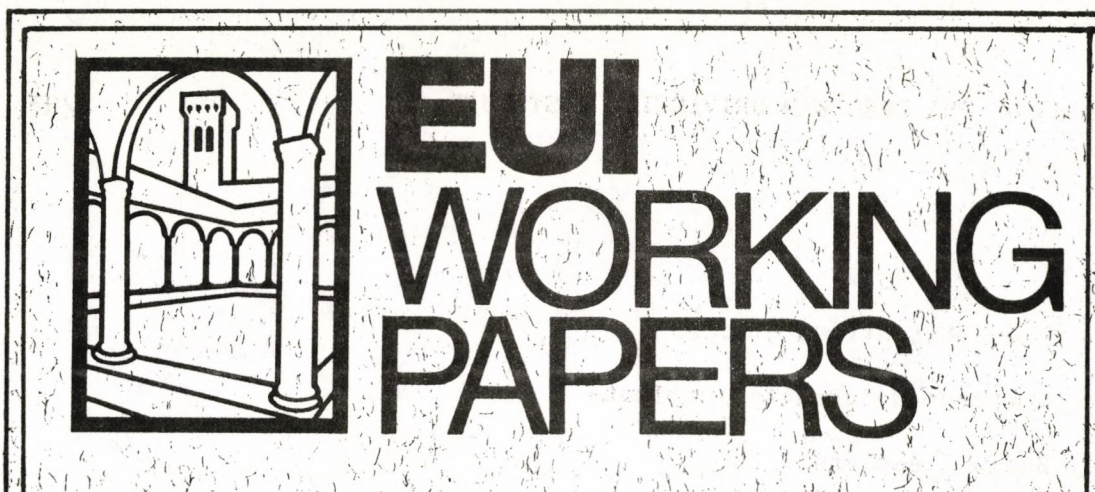
- matrimonio e la sanità della famiglia e della stirpe, Napoli, 1936, pp 10-11.
- 10 Cfr. Claudio Pogliano, Scienza e stirpe: eugenica in Italia (1912-1939), 'Passato e presente', 5 (1984), pp. 95-96.
 - 11 Addition of the translator, V. Porta, in Winifred V. Richmond, Enciclopedia sessuale, Milano, 1936, pp. 247-248.
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 - 20 Ugo Ojetti, L'America vittoriosa, Milano, 1899, pp. 220-222.
 - 21 Gaetano Masi, Il flagello neomaltusiano. Con appendice di istruzioni sui mezzi per combatterlo, Vicenza, 1915, pp. 36-37.

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- 23 "Esistono naturalmente anche in America fior di famiglie modello nelle quali si conserva il culto delle buone virtù domestiche (...), ma queste famiglie vivono la loro vita tranquilla senza mettersi in evidenza. Lo spettacolo è dato dalle altre e dagli altri, che sono certamente minoranza, ma che fanno più chiasso, e si incontrano dappertutto." Arnaldo Fraccaroli, New York ciclone di genti, Milano, 1928, p. 160.
- 24 Luigi Barzini (jr.), Nuova York, Milano, 1931, pp. 31-32.
- 25 Beniamino De Ritis, La terza America, Firenze, 1937, pp. 86-87.
- 26 Idem, Mente puritana in corpo pagano, Firenze, 1934, pp. 20-22 and 53-54. Cfr. Euno Poggiani, Viaggio nel Far West, Cremona, 1936, p. 71.
- 27 Iginio Giordani, Il protestantesimo e la dissoluzione della famiglia, in Il matrimonio cristiano. Scritti vari a commento dell'enciclica 'Casti connubii', Milano, 1931, pp. 145-147. A visit to the Eucharistical Congress which took place in Chicago in 1926, convinced some Italian observers that the forces of American catholicism would turn the tide of moral decadence. Cfr. Silvio D'Amico, Scoperta dell'America cattolica (note al congresso eucaristico di Chicago), Firenze, 1927.
- 28 Arnaldo Cipolla, Nell'America del Nord. Impressioni di viaggio in Alaska, Stati Uniti e Canada, Torino etc., 1925, p. 278.
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- 32 Idem, Donne d'America, Milano, 1930, p. 15.
- 33 V. Porta in Winifred V. Richmond, Enciclopedia sessuale, cit., pp. 243-245. Cfr. Pietro Lanino, Civiltà americana, 'Nuova antologia', LXV, settembre 1930, pp. 234-248.
- 34 Emilio Cecchi, America amara, cit., pp. 140-141.
- 35 Giuseppe Fabbri, Il volto della gioventù americana, 'Antieuropa', III, aprile 1931, pp. 1876-1878.
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